WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Marine Defense Work Grows

New Forces Come to the Assistance of the Defendants

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The Marine Workers Defense Committee which has been formed to conduct the defense of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer, selected as victims in the New York "Dynamite Plot" against the Tidewater Boatmen's Union, recorded big progress in its work all along the line this last week. A number of new affiliations of various organizations have been secured and the committee is beginning to take on the proportions of a genuine united front movement.

At the meeting held Wednesday, December 7, at the headquarters, 82 East Tenth Street a number of practical measures to further the defense were decided upon, with the enlarged committee participating. In addition to those who have been conducting the work up to now the following representatives of other organizations were present William Baker from the I. W. W ; Sidney Cohn from the General Defense Committee; A. J. Muste from the C. P. L. A.; S. A. Benson and C. F. Hogan from the I. L. D.; V. Lionetti from the International Libertatarian Defense Committee; Forest Edwards and Walter Starrett.

The I. L. D. delegates presented a letter from J. Louis Engdahl, General Secretary, stating that it would be glad to give assistance to the persecuted members of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union and that their attorney had been instructed to get in touch with the prisoners to offer them assistance. After a discussion of the contents of the letter the committee decided by motion that cooperation from the I. L. D. in the defense of the comrades would be welcome, but that any cooperation in the case should take the form of cooperation with the existing committee which had been formed at the express request of the defendants and which had already retained counsel for them.

Indicating the support which the committee is mobilizing are letters of support received by the committee from the Intercollegiate Student Council of the League for Industrial Democracy and also from the Marxian Youth Club.

A mass meeting in behalf of the imprisoned marine workers will be held on Thursday, January 7, at Webster Hall. Among the speakers will be Carter Hudson, chairman, Carlo Tresca, J. P. Cannon, Ben Gitlow, A. J. Muste, and Walter Starrett.

It was decided to organize a women's group to carry on special work for the defense among women and to organize a number of affairs for the purpose of raising funds. Comrade Rose Karsner was placed in charge of this work. Ten thousand leaflets giving an account of the case and an appeal for labor solidarity have been printed and are now being distributed among the various affiliated groups.

Youth Organizations Support Marine Defense

The Marine Workers' Defense Committee, with headquarters at 82 East 10th Street, has made public the following letters from two youth organizations which have taken a stand for the defense of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer:

December 12, 1931.

Marine Workers Defense Committee,
82 East 10th Street,
New York City.

Comrades:

From newspaper accounts, and on the basis of information which has come to us from other sources, we feel convinced that the arrest of John Sodeberg, Secretary of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union, of Thomas Bunker and William Trajer, members of that union, is a palpable frame-up.

The charge of dynamiting, we know, is one of the old standbys of the authorities when they wish to punish class conscious workers for attempting to organize. In this case all the marks of

(Continued on page 2)

Japanese Intrenched in Manchuria

Provocation Against Soviet Union Fails; China Protest Grows

Japan has succeeded in her immediate objectives in Manchuria. She remains firmly lodged there, as predicted in **The Militant.** Her steady display and use of military force, her intransigeance in achieving her aims in Manchuria, have brought about the capitulation, at present, of China, the League of Nations and the United States.

The League of Nations formulated (12-10-31) an innocuous resolution on the Sino-Japanese conflict in Manchuria which Japan readily accepted, and China accepted because there was no other choice. The resolution does not even mention the decisive question of the control of the Manchurian railways. So far as the moment is concerned, they are Japan's to have and to hold. The much-talked of commission of inquiry into affairs in Manchuria and China has no actual power, will make inquiries" over a period of time, and then incorporate them into an official record for time's dusty files. Meanwhile, the Japanese military forces are to evacuate Manchuria "as speedily as possible", a speed which will make a snail's pace look like that of a harrier. China and Japan are to continue direct negotiations for settlement of the disputes.

Nothing Settled

Fundamentally nothing is settled in Manchuria. The last word is yet to be said: and that will be said neither by the Japanese imperialists, the League of Nations, the United States, nor yet by the Chinese bourgeoisie—but by the Chinese and Manchurian masses, the Japanese and all other exploited people. On that day there will real evacuation: of all exploiters.

In one important respect in the day to day events, neither the Japanese nor the other imperialist powers have been successful. They could not provoke the Soviet Republic into the war and thus make easier the aims of the bourgeoisie to unite forces in an onslaught for the overthrow of the first Workers' Republic. That is an evidence of the basic desire of the workers for peace. But it does not mean that continued provocations and attempts against the Soviet Union will always go unchallenged by the outraged working masses of the Soviet Union and the entire world.

Nor is Japan's immediate position at home a rosy one. Despite efforts, among them the steady export of gold to bolster the yen and to maintain the gold standard, Japan on December 13 joined England and other nations and went off the gold standard. Speculation with the yen has been continuous. Trade has been stagnant; the boycott of Japanese goods by China has had sharp effects and there has been a loss of trade in other directions, plus the fact that Japan has also been involved deeply in the world economic crisis.

Japan's victory in Manchuria will yet prove a pyrrhic one. It presents itself before capitalist judgment with Manchuria virtually entirely in its possession—and, by capitalist standards, possession is nine-tenths of the law. But the dispossessed will learn how to deal with bourgeois standards.

The Movement In China

In China itself, the rising wrath of the workers and students has been asserting itself in demonstrations against the Nanking govenment of Chiang Kai-Shek in particular. The students have demonstrated **en masse, in a strike of 50,000** participants on one occasion, for a more determined struggle by China against the Japanese invaders of Manchuria. Strikes of workers are suppressed or outlawed by decree. The Chinese government continues the policy of White Terror against the labor movement and especially against the Communists. Recent despatches from China show efforts of the workers to revive and vitalize their labor organizations, so brutally and cruelly destroyed by Chiang Kai-Shek and Co.

The Kuo Min Tang Betrayers

In the face of the attitude of the workers, peasants and students, the Kuo Min Tang has been trying to unite its force. The two main factions, that of Nanking, headed by Chiang Kai-Shek, and Canton, headed by the opportunist Eugene Chen, Sun Fo, Wang Chin Wei, have held unification meets, but thus far without success. Both feel the necessity of bourgeois unity to beat down the working mases and to continue with the system of exploitation, but they have not been able to agree on the division of the spoils. As we go to press, there is reported the resignation of President Chiang Kai-Shek as head of Chinese Nationalist government. This does not change anything essentially.

There is of course no principle difference between these two bourgeois factions: both of them capitulate before the imperialists—Japan, United States, Great Britain, etc. Both are alike in their hatred, oppression and exploitation of China's toiling masses; both destroy labor's organizations and forces—their unions, political parties, etc.; both murder labor militants and communists. Both countenance betrayal and traitorous conduct to the foreign enemy, rather than risk the loss of their privileges to the plundered workers. Witness the renegacy of the Chinese general Ma, who, first fighting the Japanese in Manchuria, has now become Japan's puppet there. The Chinese bourgeoisie have said nothing about this, except to deprecate and

(Continued on page 4)

Christmas Eve. Affair

RED CHRISTMAS ENTERTAINMENT IN NEW YORK FOR BENEFIT OF THE MILITANT

On Christmas Eve, **Thursday, December 24, 1931,** beginning at 8 P. M., there will be an entertainment for the benefit of **The Militant** at the New York League headquarters, 84 East 10th Street. The New York Branch is sponsoring the affair and has arranged for many features, as well as the serving of excellent refreshments.

The entertainments of the League have always been pleasing, lively and entertaining to all who have attended them, and for Christmas Eve, the Committee has gone to extra efforts to assure a good time to all.

Supporters and sympathizers of the Left Opposition are asked to give their full support to the Christmas Eve gathering. With an evening of fun and diversions assured, the comrades will also be giving a necessary assistance to the maintenance of the weekly **Militant.** Remember the time: **Saturday, December 24, Christmas Eve.** Place: League headquarters, **84 East 10th Street, N. Y. C.**

WRITE TO THE PRISONERS

Readers of the **Militant** are requested to send letters to the imprisoned members of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union. These workers are shut away from active participation in the labor movement, and communications from the outide with messages of solidarity are very important to them. Those who can afford to enclose a dollar with their letter will thereby help provide the prisoners with tobacco and other jail necessities. The names of the prisoners are John G. Soderberg, Thomas Bunker and William Trajer. The address is: City Prison, 101 Center St., New York City.

CHINESE LABOR FEDERATION BLOCKED

SHANGHAI Nov. 15. (Fenprecor)—All attempts on the part of the labor unions of this city to form a central body is being blocked by the Chinese authorities on the grounds that "it represents an attempt on the part of the Reds to gain control of Shanghai labor organizations."

At the head of some 60 unions of various sizes, shapes and policies, the Shanghai Postal Workers' Union and the Printers' Union—both militant organizations, although not especially distinguished by any revolutionary character, attempted this week to organize a "General Labor Federation", along the lines of the Shanghai General Labor Union. This latter was the actively revolutionary labor organ which existed here in 1927 and which was stamped out with every other vestige of the Revolution when Chiang Kai Shek won control of the Nationalist movement in that year.

Although no evidence was produced to show the alleged "Red" character of the proposed Federation, the Kuo Min Tang authorities, fearful of any unity of any kind among the workers in China's largest industrial center, are closing down hard on the proposition and it is expected to die unborn.

/ Minneapolis /
Attention !

..**MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.**—A number of lectures, meetings and banquet have been arranged for comrade Arne Swabeck, now on tour for the Communist League of America (Opposition) during his stay in the Twin Cities. The following lists some of the affairs arranged:

FIRST LECTURE

"The Rise and Fall of the MacDonald Government in England, and the Role of the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota," by Arne Swabeck. TIME: **Sunday, December 27, 1931, at 8 P. M.** PLACE: Hall, **1530 East Franklin Ave., Minneapolis.**

SECOND LECTURE

"The Left Opposition and the Economic Crisis" by Arne Swabeck. TIME: **Monday, December 28, 1931, at 8 P. M.** PLACE: **Labor Lyceum, 1426 Sixth Avenue No., Minneapolis.**

The admission for both lectures is 25 cents. There will be questions and discussions. All workers are cordially invited. The lectures are under the auspices of the Communist League of America (Opposition), Minneapolis Branch.

A BANQUET

For **Saturday, December 26, 1931, at 9 P. M.,** the Minneapolis Branch of the League has arranged a JOINT BANQUET to take place at **Hoberman's Home, 1326 Queen Avenue No.** for the benefit of **The Militant** and the forthcoming Jewish paper of the Left Opposition. Everyone is invited to attend. Elaborate preparations have been made to assure everyone a lively and pleasing time. The admission is 25 cents.

Hoover's Message to Congress Demonstrates Capitalist Bankruptcy

On December 8, President Hoover delivered his annual message to Congress. Every worker should be acquainted with its contents. It ought to prove to every intelligent and thinking worker that in Hoover and the ruling capitalist system, of which he is the official spokesman, there is nothing but contempt for the working class and an insistance to continue the exploitation of the mass of people, no matter by what extreme means. The capitalist class has laid down its law: **maintain profits;** for the workers there will be the crumbs from the laden tables of the rich. Hoover, as the leading executive and governmental expression of the capitalist class, makes public the law of his class.

A Bankrupt Capitalism

While Hoover's message is a salvo to capitalism and a hope for its preservation, nevertheless, the speech demonstrates the bankruptcy of capitalist society and its eventual break-up. American capitalism, pride and leader of the world's imperialist nations, is no longer, as is already even more clear in the case of the other capitalist nations, an historically progressive force. It cannot any further guarantee to the mass of wage workers, from whom it must extract its profits, a minimum of subsistence and existence.

The economic crisis, with its outstanding effect, permanent mass unemployment, has deepened capitalism's contradictions. It has reduced the standard of living of the employed workers, and it has taken away any standard at all for the unemployed, whom it is pushing toward slum proletarianism, dependent upon local relief, charity, etc. Bourbon American capitalism, of course, is not yet ready to accept the "dole" or unemployment insurance even as an aid to its own continued existence. But working class pressure will achieve that as a demand and gain of a militant working class. Albeit, when a ruling class cannot ensure the existence of those whom it needs for exploitation, that class is historicaly outlived. A change is due and is being prepared, in this instance, by the only force that has nothing to lose but its chains and everything to gain—namely, the modern industrial proletariat.

What does Hoover's message tell us about the world economic crisis? That the crisis exists—which every worker knows and feels. Unemployment is heavy and burdensome—he endorses charity methods to alleviate the situation. And wages—must go down! We take up here some of the more outstanding points in the message.

The World We Live In

We are living in an epoch of wars and revolutions. Economic crises only hasten the development of imperialist war or its development on a higher scale, that is, the proletarian revolution, Hoover cites as a fear, and we as a sign of hope, the fact that "within two years there have been **revolutions or acute social disorders in nineteen countries, embracing more than half the population of the world."**

Though **"the economic depression",** says Hoover, "has continued and deepened in every part of the world"; "ten countries have been unable to meet their external obligations; and "in fourteen countries. embracing a quarter of the world's population, the former monetary standards have been temporarily abandoned." Hoover explains it all away by saying that "business depressions have been recurrent in the life of our country and **are but transitory."**

Marx and Engels Corraborated

But Hoover does not explain why these cycles of depression, of economic crises, occur and recur at greater frequency, at greater depth, with sharper dislocation of the productive forces and at such tremendously greater sacrifices and misery upon the part of the working masses. The reasons do not concern him and his kind, so long as the **profit system itself,** continues.

Marx and Engels, however, decades ago pointed out the inevitability of these very developments of today, and proved that the contradictions inherent in mass production and individual distribution, of production not for use, but for profit, would finally bring about a collapse of capitalist economy; and that only the proletariat, through the organization of its economic and political forces, could reconcile this capitalist contradiction by the establishment of an economic system of social ownership and management of the means of production and distrubution.

Hoover's Internationalism

Hoover's concern, nevertheless, is with a possible destruction of capitalist society. For this reason, the great nationalist and American, Herbert Hoover, becomes international-minded long enough to point out that unless America intervened in Central Europe, particularly in Germany, **"it was apparent** that without assistance **these nations must collapse".**

But of Soviet Russia, first fortress of the international proletarian revolution, there is not even a mention. There is therefore, the continuation of the policy of bitter hostility, toward, and encouragement of a unity of the forces of reaction against, the Soviet Republic.

And what about so-called domestic policy? What of unemployment, of wages, of working conditions of the mass of people, of the exploited and persecuted Negroes, of the Mexicians?

The Facts and Results of Mass Unemployment

We are told that "the emergencies of unemployment have been met by action in many directions; that "public and private agencies were **successfully mobilized** last winter **to provide employment** and other **measures against .distress.** Similar organizations gives **assurance against suffering during the coming Winter."**

But the claims are even greater. "The Public Health Service," maintains Hoover, "shows an actual decrease of sickness and infant general mortality below normal years. **No greater proof could be adduced that our people have been protected from hunger and cold. . . . "**

These statements are appalling. What are the facts? Has anyone disproved the existence of ten or more millions of unemployed in the United States? How does Hoover explain away the fact that, particularly in the industrial centers, hunger and want are apparent everywhere, that men, women and children dig in garbage cans to find something to eat? It is a fact that millions, under the best of capitalist circumstances, **remain permanently in the army of unemployed,** due to elimination from industry by the machine and technical development. Starvation and poverty while granaries overflow; overproduction of other commodities is overwhelming. That is the social economy of capitalism. How are these to be cared for?

The concern of Hoover over the children is enough to cause one to shed tears. But evidently president Hoover does not bother himself with the facts. **The United States Health Service** has recently **declared that more than six millions of the school children are suffering from mal-nutrition,** making them easy victims of many serious diseases. **Hospital report an alarming rise in types of physical trouble due to undernourishment,** and **all schools are reporting a marked decline of mental alertness** among the pupils **and a marked appearance of physical lassitude.** Is this what Hoover means by "proof of protection from hunger and cold?".

But of course, this **representative of Wall Street declares himself "opposed to any** direct or indirect government dole" or unemployment insurance. **Insurance and protection are only for the bosses.**

Hoover Is For Wage Reductions

On the questions of wages, **Hoover** now openly **espouses the wage-cutting campaign** and forgets his verbiage of some time ago for the maintenance of the existing wage standard. He says, in apologia for the employers, that "a large majority of them have maintained wages at as high a level as the **safe conduct of their business would permit."** There is now full sanction to proceed with wage cuts in all directions, and the railroad barons are acting rapidly to effect such wage cuts.

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Railway Union Heads Betray Workers

The wage cut wave is sweeping across another, decisive, section of the American working class. The weed of bureaucracy in the Railroad unions proved to be a rather negligible hurdle in the way of the traction bosses. Dispatches report that "railway labor leaders have become convinced that a cut must come". The conferences in Chicago and the dickers to follow will merely serve as trimmings. A new betrayal is being consummated. If there is to be any resistance, the railroad workers must take their fate into their own hands.

To justify their demands for pay reduction, the bosses are presenting all sorts of alarming figures, statistics to "prove" how heavy the burden of the crisis has borne down on the profits, how insignificant is the sacrifice asked of labor. All that these figures actually prove, if they prove anything at all, is the not at all surprising inefficiency and waste of capitalist control, their inability to cope with the requirements of society. A small sacrifice on the part of the working class, indeed! But where among all the figures are the more than half a million unemployed and the 600,000 part time railroad men reckoned with? Where the tremendous increase in the per capita output of railway labor?

The Sell-Out At Chicago

Thousands of railroad workers are out *of jobs, thousands* more are working for less than a miserly $20 a week, but still the mismanagement of the boss class is to be taken out on the hides of the workers. A 10 percent cut is hanging over their heads. Meanwhile their self-styled "leaders" in Chicago and elsewhere are occupied only with the ways and means of making the rank and file swallow this bitter pill. And in this, the "captains of industry" are more than willing to lend their labor lieutenants a helping hand.

For **bargaining purposes**—as one boss sheet expresses it—the bosses will decide to . . . officially demand a **15 per cent wage cut.** And so allow Robertson and his ilk to palm off the "voluntary" (!) acceptance of a 10 per cent cut as a victory in the eyes of the deceived and pillaged mass of railway workers. The labor skates are going ahead with their farcical mediation and conciliation plans. But already pressure from below is making itself felt.

Strike Votes

The maintenance of way employees of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway have taken a strike vote. To be sure, the misleaders have succeeded in canalizing the strike sentiment into the altogether harmless path of demanding that the bosses consent to mediation. But the deeper force behind the vote is what is important, for it is a sign that the broad strata of the union membership are growing restless and contemplating action.

It is necessary to point out in all sharpness the danger involved in these fake maneuvers to stem the resentment of the workers as well as to raise the banner of the struggle for the Six Hour Day Without Reduction in Pay, with all emphasis as the genuine rallying slogan of the moment.

The railroad workers first succeeded in building up their unions by hard-fought, militant battles. They have a fighting tradition in the American labor movement. All the hardships, all the devitalizing effects of rationalization that the capitalist class have had on the lot of American labor—through consolidation and speed-up—are especially shared by the railroad men. Railroads, the transportation industry is one of the central pivots of United States trade. *The position of the railroad workers* is therefore of strategic importance from the point of view of the proletariat. Their reaction to the attack of the master class will be of great significance for the working class of the entire country. Their decision to fight will show the way to the rest.

For The Six Hour Day—Against Wage Cuts

A struggle against the new wage cuts, and struggle they must if they do not want to be reduced to sheer starvation, will mean a struggle against the betrayers of the railway workers. In the course of open, class conflicts they will quickly realize the necessity of a broader political vision, their class consciousness and that of the class as a whole will inevitably grow.

It is up to the railroad men today, to take up the fight with the demand for the Six Hour Day as their central slogan. By a determined fight, they can give a powerful impulse to the campaign for Workers' Unemployment Insurance, aganist speed-up and for the defeat of the boss offensive. —S. G.

» OPEN FORUM «

Lecture by

JAMES P. CANNON

The Soviet Union and the World Crisis

at the
Labor Temple
14th Street andd Second Avenue

Friday December 18, 1931

QUESTIONS and **DISCUSSION**
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News from China

EFFECTS OF ANTI-JAPANESE BOYCOTT ON SINO-JAPANESE TRADE

..**SHANGHAI—Nov. 6— (Fenprecor)** — Effects of the boycott on Sino-Japanese trade have been outlined here in an illuminating survey released by the Japanese commercial attache. For the first half of 1931, Japan's China trade showed a decrease of 67,000,000 Yen or 32% for exports and 42,000,000 Yen or 25% for imports from the corresponding figures for the previous year.

For the latter half of 1931, during which period the troubled complications of Sino-Japanese relationships reached their climax in the Wanpaoshan affair, the Korean riots leading up to the Japanese military invasion of Manchuria. Japan's trade with China suffered an estimated loss of 76,000,000 Yen or 58% for exports and 18,000,000 Yen, or 19% for imports as compared with the figures for the same half of 1930.

Manchuria's share in Japan's total China trade during 1931 was 53% of the exports (from Japan) and 58% of the imports (into Japan). The five years average for the period 1926-1931 inclusive found 43% of Japan's trade with China devoted to Manchuria, the remaining 57% embracing the whole of China proper. For 1931 Manchuria absorbed 6% and China proper 54% of the trade.

Sharp Drop Since Jap Invasion

The sharp drop following upon the intensification of the boycott during September and October after Japan's military invasion is clearly seen in figures below. Japanese exports to China dropped from 27,000,000, Yen in August to 23,000,000 Yen in September and like a plummet to 15,000,000 Yen in October. Imports from China dropped less sharply, decreasing from 14,000,000 Yen in September to 11,000,000 Yen in October. It is estimated that the total export trade for 1931 as compared with 1930 will drop 145,000,000 Yen and the import trade 65,000,000 Yen.

Japanese shipping on the Yangtse River has been hard hit. The Misshin Kisen Knisha, the largest company operating out of Shanghai under the Japanese flag, claims not to have transported a single Chinese passenger nor a ton of Chinese freight since September 25. Normally the N. K. K. vessels average approximately $10,000 (Chinese currency) per round trip on the Yangtse. At present thirteen ships are laid up.

For six weeks, the 34 Japanese cotton spinning mills in Shanghai have only been able to dispose of 20% of their output. For the smaller concerns the crisis is immediate while it has been stated that for the larger organizations, it will be possible to carry on only until January 31, 1932, when their financial resources will be exhausted.

Conferences are now in progress among the mill-owners and complete closure is being seriously considered. This move will throw 60,000 Chinese workers and 2,000 Japanese workers out into the streets.

Japan's commercial rivals are taking full advantage of her dilemma. English textiles are finding their way into Chinese markets in increasing quantity. Lancashire's mills have been enjoying a distinct spurt since the boycott went into effect in China against Japan. The Ministry of Industries at Nanking is making arrangements with Chinese cotton and linen weavers for the shipment of raw materials from Great Britain to take the place of those ordinarily imported from Japan and has instructed Chinese merchants to use Chinese raw materials as far as possible. The Bureau of Foreign Trade has been instructed to assist the merchants in forwarding their orders to England.

KUO MIN TANG BANS STRIKES

SHANGHAI, (Fenprecor)— The Kuo Min Tang has issued a peremptory order forbidding all strikes or suspension of work, branding such moves as "illegal in times of national crisis". "In settling their differences," reads the order, "the parties representing labor and capital in Shanghai industrial enterprises are urged to abide by the direction andd mediation of the proper government and party leaders."

In the face of this order, 600 workers of the Ta Fung Dyeing and Weaving Factory in West Shanghai struck in protest against the 12 hour day being enforced in their plant. Under the threat of a summary order from the authorities accompanied by the promise of a "settlement", they all returned to work three days later.

The Shanghai authorities this week invaded the quarters of the Chung Hwa Book Factory whose workers struck last week and were intimidated into returning to work. The policemen took labor union memberhsip cards from more than 700 workers.

SHANGHAI POLICE SUPPRESS STRIKES

SHANGHAI—(Fenprecor) — Tramcar workers on lines operating in Nantao, a section of Shanghai's native city, launched into a unique "go-slow strike", running the lines and permitting all who would to ride free. Workers of the Nantao Electric Company also walked out. In all, for a space of three days, more than 1,000 workers were agitating openly for better conditions.

The axe fell from the Bureau of Social Affairs of the Shanghai Municipality. The strikes were called "suspicious in view of the national crisis" and the workers were warned to return to their jobs at once under pain of sharp reprisal. Untrained and dunsupported, practically all the strikers went back to work with no gain to record. A notable exception was the Nanteo tram strike. Workers in receipt of $90 or more per month gained an increase of 10 per cent; those receiving between $50 and $90 gained 25 per cent, with a considerably larger increase for those whose wage is under $50.

Though the full demands made were not secured, the result is likely to prove an added object lesson in the value of the strike weapon.

The Needle Trades in Saint Louis

ST. LOUIS, MO.—The situation among the needle trades workers in St. Louis is very bad. Of the eleven thousand workers in the industry, mostly women, seventy-five per cent, at a conservative estimate, are unemployed. The wages of those at work in the better trades have fallen fifty per cent in the last few years. Among the piece workers it is even worse. Dresses which paid a dollar and a dollar and a quarter, now pay twenty-five and forty-five cents respectively. Girls who made twelve and fifteen dollars a week now make eight dollars. Hours have been lengthened and sweat shop conditions prevail throughout the industry.

Against these terrible conditions there is no struggle. The I. L. G. W. U. which deteriorated greatly in the "prosperity years" now has only one shop organized and its entire dues paying membership is less than fifty. The A. C. W., although it has several shops organized and a membership of several hundred, never really got a foothold in the industry. The N. T. W. I. U. has no shops organized and a dues payment membership of about fifteen, although for purposes of record it can produce the signatures of a great many "members". In the three years of existence, its membership never exceeded fifty and has not led a single strike struggle. The fifteen members are party members and close sympathizers. They constitute a local meeting once a month, discuss endlessly the problems of organizing the industry and are completely inactive.

The workers in the industry are mostly Americans. Unlike the needle trades workers of other cities, there are few Jews and Italians among them. The unemployed workers look for work in other trades or wait hopefully and anxiously for the crisis to lift. The employed workers are passive. They are afraid of losing their jobs. Almost all the workers in the industry are strangers to unionism, even the A. F. of L. variety, and have no traditions of struggle.

Elementary Work Is Needed

In this situation it is necessary to begin at once elementary working class education to awaken the class consciousness of the workers, to teach them the necessity for struggle and the principes of unionism. Classes, forums, and entertainments should be held. A series of simple leaflets of the kind Trotsky used to issue to the factory workers at Nikolaev should be got up and distributed. In these leaflets the unity of the employed and unemployed workers must be emphasized. The slogans of the 6 hour day—5 day week with no reduction in pay, and long-term credits to the Soviet Union, should go a long way toward creating favorable sentiment toward that unity. When this work is launched and under way, a membership drive can be held.

The situation is objectively favorable for the Left wing union. Conditions are bad. There are no powerful Right wing or reformist unions. The N. T. W. I. U. should begin systematic work to organize the workers. It can count in advance upon the support of the St. Louis branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

—CAROLINE ANDERSON.

Youth Organizations Support Marine Defense

(Continued from page 1)

police framing are present. The wrecking by police of the union headquarters and the brutal third degree inflicted by them on Soderberg, Bunker and especially on Trajer, a boy of twenty, all point to one conclusion.

We assure you of our sympathy and support in your efforts to expose and defeat the attempt of the authorities to railroad these workers to prison and to destroy the union which they have been trying to build.

Yours,
MAURICE GOLDBLOOM
Acting Chairman, N. Y. District,
Intercollegiate Student Council,
League for Industrial Democracy.

December 12, 1931

Marine Workers Defense Committee
82 East 10th Street,
New York City.

Dear Comrades:

At the last meeting of the Marxian Youth Club we heard read to us a letter from comrade Trajer describing his experiences as a young worker and revolutionist. The case of Trajer, Soderberg, and Bunker was discussed by the membership and it was decided to endorse the Marine Workers Defense Committee, and offer our aid and assistance.

It was obvious to all present that the three comrades were arrested, beaten up, and face heavy jail sentences because they attempted to organize the workers in their industry against the bosses. This challenge to the right of the workers to organize and struggle, issued not for the first time, must be met by the building of a powerful mass movement for the release of these comrades and all class war prisoners.

Our Club has elected a committee of three, comrdaes, H. Stone, H. Milton, and J. Carter, which would be glad to cooperate in any work assigned to it.

Fraternally yours,
LILLIAN BORD
Secretary
Marxian Youth Club.

Minneapolis Opposition Holds Open Forum

The Minneapolis Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is conducting an Open Forum **each Sunday afternoon at 3 P. M.,** at the new **headquarters** of the Branch as well as general public meetings on general subjects. Meetings have been held on the Spanish Revolution, the Manchurian Situation and other subjects.

Among the lectures arranged for forthcoming weeks at the Minneapolis Forum are the following:

All meetings, unless otherwise mentioned are **at 3 P. M.:**

Sunday, December 20, 1931: "Frozen Assets or the Bonus to the Banks", Speaker: Carl Skoglund.

Sunday, Recember 27, 1931: "The Future of American Trade Unionism"; Speaker: Arne Swabeck.

Sunday, January 3rd, 1932: Debate: **"Will A Farmer-Labor Party Emancipate the Workers?"** Speaker for the Communist League, Vincent R. Dunne: F. L. P. speakers to be announced.

Sunday, January 10, 1932: "Tom Mooney and the American Frame-Up System;" Speaker: Carl Cowl.

Sunday, January 17, 1932: "Imperialism; What Next?. Speaker: Vincent R. Dunne.

Sunday, January 24, 1932. DEBATE: **"Evolution or Revolution."** Speakers: Communist League and Socialist Party —to be announced.

Sunday, January 31, 1932: "The Proposed Railroad Wage Reductions", Speaker: C. R. Hedlund.

All these lectures and debates will be held at the Workers Open Forum, 1530 East Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn., The **Admission is free.**

New York Forum

At the New York Forum of the Communist League (Opposition) last Friday evening, comrade J. P. Cannon spoke on current events in the labor movement: The Canadian Communist Party trials and on the Mooney case.

In his remarks on the Canadian trials, comrade Cannon pointed out the degenerating effects of Stalinism on the Canadian party. Leaderless, with no advice from the larger and supposedly more mature American Communist Party, refusing the assistance offered by comrade Maurice Spector, leader of the Canadian Communists up to the time of his expulsion as a Left Oppositionist, the Canadian Party allowed itself to be drawn into legalistic wranglings with the government and prosecution, instead of boldly championing the aims of the Communists to overthrow the capitalist system. The Canadian Communist Party must immediately inaugurate a campaign for its right to exist as a legal party. To do so, he went on, it must throw overboard the Stalinist conceptions of the united front and unite the entire working class in a fight for the rights of free press, free speech and assemblage. Otherwise the Canadian Party will be doomed to an illegal, sectarian existence.

In reference to Mayor Walker's espousal of the Mooney case, comrade Cannon reiterated the stand of the Left Opposition that the time is more than ever opportune for a wide united front movement for Mooney's and Billing's release, with the Communists as the dynamic force in the movement.

ENTERTAINMENT FOR "CCMMUNISTES", GREEK OPPOSITION PAPER ON SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19.

An entertainment to celebrate the issuance of the first number of **Communistes,** organ of the Greek Fraction, Communist League of America (Opposition), will be held this coming **Saturday, December 19, 1931,** beginning at 8 P. M., at the New York League headquarters, **84 East 10th Street.** Entertainment and refreshments have been fully provided for. All workers are cordially invited to come.

The Message of Hoover to Congress

(Continued from page 1)

Capitalist spokesmen and apologists try to excuse their acts against the working class, against those yet employed and those jobless, by maintaining that the cost of living, of commodity prices has gone down and that therefore wage cuts are in order. But even this argument is false to the roots.

Significant Fgures

Ethelbert Stewart, Commissioner of *the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics,* says that from December, 1925, to June, 1931, **the workers cost of living had been reduced 15.5%** while the employers **had reduced the total wages** paid workers in the manufacturing industries during that same period almost **40%. Thus,** even according to U. S. Government figures, wages have been **reduced already 25% below** the fall in the cost of living. Stewart's own statement is that a similar situation prevails in other industries.

Mary Anderson, Director of the Women's Department of the U. S. Department of Labor, confirms Stewart's declarations, stating that "since 1929, while the cost of living has declined 12%, the income of factory workers has gone down 37%."

The above figures, we think, expose Hoover's claims regarding unemployment, wages, and the conditions of existence of the mass of workers in the United States. But if president Hoover deals blows against the working class, he is gentle as a lamb and soft as silk with his colleagues and bosses, the employing class.

To take but a single example, it is necessary, president Hoover says, that **the railroads "should have** more effective **opportunity** to **reduce operating costs** by proper consolidation." With wage cuts on the order of the day for the railway workers, Hoover proposes to help along by throwing more men out of work. Operating costs are reduced; profits are assured. All's well with the railroads.

Other questions in Hoover's Congressional message are dealt with that concern every working man: the advocacy of "certificates of residence" for aliens, a revival of the campaign for the registration of the foreign-born, aimed mainly at the radical workers; the endorsement of a huge army and navy policy; there was a failure to mention the problem of the Negro masses, and many other matters. We shall have occasion to return to Hoover's program for capitalist salvation and against the working class.

Functions of Government and Taxation

One further point of some interest remains. This refers to the Hoover-Mellon policy of increased taxation for maintenance of the government's functions. The day of "cheap government" is gone forever under capitalism. Modern imperialist development requires an ever-increasing force of oppression and suppression of the working class: a huge military equipment, army and navy, police, courts, and other agencies of a wide description. The increasing sharpness of the class struggle, strikes, mass unemployment, movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, etc., call forth these forces of suppression of the masses to a greater degree right along.

The employing class recognizes that it must pay to maintain its governmental apparatus of oppression, capitalist propaganda, etc. Within the ruling class there is an effort to pass the burden of governmental costs from one group onto another, and also to shift even these burdens to the extent possible onto the exploited working class. This is done through taxation, direct and indirect, the largest bulk of which comes from the finance-bourgeoisie. To an extent the bourgeoisie does succeed in foisting taxes upon the workers, to make them carry a burden in addition to their exploitation directly by the employer. But while such taxation is a sort of factor, the working class need to recognize that their **basic** and daily problem lies in the extraction of **unpaid labor,** of surplus value, from them by the employers. The official Communist Party exaggerates the taxation of the workers and develops a petit-bourgeois outlook. But the economic crisis has naturally effected the revenues of the government, always ini creasing in cost, and now the bourgeoisie must pay more to their government to help maintain "law and order", that is, suppress and oppress the working class.

Building A Movement Against Capitalism

Hoover's message of reaction and challenge against the working class must be taken up by the workers. In the immediate sense, there is need to mobilize and organize the working masses in a common struggle for the six hour day and five day week with no reduction in pay; for immediate relief; for unemployment insurance; for the extension of long-term credits to the Soviet Union as a measure of relief for unempoyment; for the recognition of the Soviet Union and against the anti-Soviet phobia of Hoover and the U. S. government.

Fundamentally the problem remains the same: the education and organization of the working class for the militant struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the rule of the workers, a Soviet Republic. To this end the Left Opposition directs its tasks.

—MARTIN ABERN.

Perspectives of the Crisis in France

Economic - Social Changes and Prospects

(Continued from previous issue)

In the meantime, finance capital in France has not developed on the basis of an unfettered industrial bourgeois growth, as it did in England and in the United States. Because of the relatively slow tempo of industrial development, finance capital has been disproportionately powerful, and its conflicts with industrial capital have at times taken acute forms. The class content of the revolution of February, 1848, as Marx taught us, included the struggle between the royalist and later Bonapartist elements of finance capital, and the bourgeois republicanism of industrial capitalism.

The inflation in France from 1919 to 1926 reduced the value of the franc by 80%, and on the face of it appeared to inflict a corresponding loss on French finance capital. Actually, however, a large movement of capital abroad took place, by direct flight of French funds into foreign banks and by export balances, stimulated by the depreciation of the franc, being left abroad in unusually large amounts.

For this reason the financial stabilization of France was accomplished very easily under Poincore—an increase in taxation to balance the budget, a refunding operation which converted short-term bills into two-year bills, the creation of an autonomous bureau for the reduction of state debt, and a few other financial devices, proved remarkably successful in a short time.

French capital, convinced that under the Poincares and Loucheurs it need have no anxiety, commenced to flow back into France, while still retaining huge balances abroad, which were exchangeable for gold on demand. When the world-wide crisis reached a point, in May of this year, where the solvency of Austria, then of Germany, England and even the United States was called into question, these balances were converted into gold and returned to France.

As a result, the gold reserves of the Banque de France, which amounted to 53,578,000,000 francs at the end of 1930, were up 27% to 67,844,000,000 francs according to the statement of Dec. 3, 1931. During the same period note circulation increased from 76,436 millions to 82,542, indicating a slight degree of inflation in view of the lower industrial activity and declining prices, but on the whole the financial strength of the Banque, measured by the percentage of gold cover, increased from 53.17 to over 57%.

The disproportion between the financial strength of France and its industrial strength, however, is shown by the fact that during this time, the commercial banks have been calling in their loans, reducing their balances with correspondent banks, while their own deposits have been increasing, all to the end of strengthening their cash position. The following comparison of outstanding items from the statement of the four largest commercial banks (excluding the Banque National de Credit, which has been closed, but whose liabilities are not believed to run over 4 billion francs), stated in millions, will show how the banks have been protecting their cash position:

Assets	**Dec. 31, 1930**	**July 31, 1931**
Cash	3,957	8,179
Balances with correspondents	4,642	2.916
Total Loans	31,920	39,869
Liabilities		
Current and deposit accounts	36,681	38,181

While finance capital has thus strengthened its position, and is better able to conduct purely financial operations, such as short-term credits, flotation of foreign gvernment and colonial loans, etc., it is clear that this has been at the expense of forcing their customers, the industrial bourgeoisie, to pay up loans, and of refusing to grant new loans as liberally as before; witness the unusually large number of bankruptcies in recent months.

The domination of finance capital over industrial capital is not based, as in other imperialist countries, on a high degree of concentration of the latter and *the consequent transformation of finance* capital from a simple intermediary into a vital factor of monopoly. The cause is rather to be found on the one hand in the low productivity of French economy, and the low standard of living compelled by it, which results in the bourgeoisie seeking its salvation in thrift and saving, instead of expansion as in Germany or America; and in the second instance on the relative backwardness of French industry itself. This domination in turn has tended to perpetuate French industry since at all crucial moments, decisions as between the interests of the industrial and the financial bourgeoisie are decided to the advantage of the latter.

Relative Backwardness of French Industry

A vivid illustration of the state of French industry, and the rate of development of concentration, is to be found in the official record of the number of establishments employing 100 persons or more.

Table 2

Industrial Establishments of France Employing over 100 Persona-Percentage to Total Number of Industrial Establishments

1896	0.62%
1901	0.70
1906	0.75
1921	1.19
1921*	1.22

* Including Alsace-Lorraine.

Considering coal and iron, the two foundations of industry on the capitalist scale, France ranks sixth among the nations with respect to coal reserves, with 32 billion tons or 7-10 of 1% of the total. Its position with respect to iron ore reserves is stronger, with an estimated 8,164 million tons, or 14.7%, second only to the United States.

A great part of these ore reserves, however, consist of high-phosphorus ore, which could not be utilized in Bessemer furnaces which were the only important large-scale method of steel-making until after 1871. The invention of the Thomas-Gilchrist furnace, using a basic lining to absorb the excess of acid-making phosphorous in the iron ore, and producing a valuable fertilizer as a by-product, made the Lorraine ores commercial, and laid the foundation for the present French steel industry, and consequently of most of French heavy industry. By this time, however, England and Germany were well into their period of industrial development and the growth of American heavy industry brought a new competition to France which the older industrial countries had had to meet.

Pig iron production of France in 1930 was 10,098,000 tons, against 9,000,000 in 1913, and steel production 9,407,000 tons against 4,687,000. Since the crisis affected France later than other capitalist countries, by April of 1930 France was producing more steel than England, and by December, 1930, more than Germany, thus reaching second place immediately after the United States. It has maintained its lead over England and Germany this year in both pig iron and steel in most months.

There is much other evidence to show that the trend tdoward industrialization, while slower in France than in some other countries because of the resistance of the petty peasant economy and its economic basis in small production, small consumption and savings contraposed to the capitalist ideology of rationalization, mass production, and export trade, has still been making progress, so that France in relation to other capitalist powers does not occupy an "exceptional" position, but merely illustrates the law of uneven development.

Coal consumption per capita increased from 1906 to 1913 by 24%, from 1919 to 1926, and from 1913 to 1926, 19.5%. Steel output per capita incerased from 1901 to 1913 by 110%, from 1913 to 1926, 15%. Rated capacity of steam engines per capita (a good all-over index of mechanization), increased 33% from 1906 to 1913, 87% from 1919 to 1924.

Another important indication is supplied by the steadily growing importation of foodstuffs into France, contrary to the bourgeois economists' insistence on "national self-sufficiency". Between 1899 and 1909 food imports averaged from 60 to 80 kilos per capita per year: between 1909 and 1913, about 119 kilos. The lowest that it has run since the war was 109 kilos in 1921; in 1929 it was 161, and the average for 1919-1929 was 157.5 kilos.

On the other hand, the proportion of manufactured goods to total exports has shown a substantial gain. In 1913, 10.2% by weight of all exports consisted of manufactured goods; in 1929, 13.3% and in 1930, 13.2%, with an average of 13.4%.

To import more foodstuffs and to export more manufactured products is typical of the tendency of all capitalist countries, and justifies the prediction that the broad trends of capitalism as manifested hitherto will hold good in France, subject to the law of uneven development as affected by special peculiarities of space and time.

—B. J. FIELD.

(To Be Continued)

CHINESE COMMUNISTS CELEBRATE NOVEMBER 7; MANY ARRESTS

SHANGHAI, Nov. 8 (Fenprecor)—Following a week of exhaustive preparation on the part of the military and police authorities in all the leading centers of China, the fourteenth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revoultion dawned and set over the Far East without any major incidents occuring. In Shanghai the end of the day found five young Communists facing death at the hands of the police and portions of the city plastered with Communist handbills.

Carrying the Red Flag and the emblem of the Sickle and Hammer, a band of young Communists attempted to parade through one of the city's main thoroughfares and soon came to grips with the police who arrested five, two of them young girls.

Wheels of Chinese anti-Communist "justice" move swiftly. The five young men and women were almost immediately turned over to the local military garrison headquarters for "trial" before a military tribunal. For protesting the evils of the Kuo Min Tang regime, these five, like countless thousands before them, face the prospect of Kuo Min Tang bullets within the next 48 hours. Protests to the authorities on behalf of the young prisoners have been ignored.

The Chinese municipality of Greater Shanghai was held under martial law for the entire day. Heavily armed military and police patrols marched the streets and a number of "Red suspects" were taken into custody. No major demonstrations took place.

Hundreds of Communist delegates began gathering in Southeastern Kaingsi to herald the anniversary and to formulate a definite program on behalf of the Chinese Revolution.

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The French C.G.T.U. Congress

Issue of Trade Union Unity Confounded by Stalinists

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The last congress of the revolutionary trade union center of the French workers—the C. G. T. U.—Unitary Confederation of Labor—was awaited with a great deal of curiosity and with much hope. Curiosity and to a certain degree also anxiety, on the part of the bourgeoisie and the reformists, for whom the revolutionary center, no matter how weak it may be, constitutes nevertheless a consistent and serious obstacle to the exploitation and the deception of the workers, and particularly in times of economic crisis threatens to become a dangerous enemy and rally the masses about it. In this sense too, were directed the hopes of the workers who had expected from this congress that it would correct the false line of the past few years and establish a detailed program for the struggles to come.

A few months ago, the congress of the reformists had been held and had demonstrated the disorder and the weakness of the reformists as well as the desire of the broad masses under their leadership in the C. G. T., to unite with the revolutionaries for mutual support in the future struggles. At the time, the C. G. T. U., which was also scheduled to hold its congress, had postponed it on the request of the R. I. L. U. in order to be able to prepare it better by profiting from the results achieved by the congress of the C. G. T. The pre-Congressional discussion of the C. G. T. U., which coincided with a new turn in the French Communist party did indeed, despite the distortions of the Centrists, appear to be orientated toward serious reconstruction.

"Self-Criticism"

Many of the mistakes committed in the past, during the third period, had been severely criticized by the membership of the unions as well as by the leaders; there was a real field day for self-criticism and not even Monmousseau, the general secretary of the C. G. T. U. had been spared. Little by little, there was a return to trade union democracy, which attained its apex when articles of Left Oppositionists (naturally, deranged in the well known Stalinist manner) appeared in the official party press. on one of the most burning questions of *the trade union movement in France*, in the question of trade union unity, the leadership of the C. G. T. U., after several changes of position, even appeared to come close to the position adopted from the very first by the Left Opposition, and taken up later on by a number of trade union tendencies, that is to say, the position of unity through an ***amalgamation conference*** on the basis of the right to organize fractions and freedom of discussion.

To be sure, the bureaucrats gave their own interpretations to this program before the congress, adding their own formulas, such as "class struggle unity", in order to obscure the issues. But since it had for once taken the correct path, it was hoped that an unanimous solution would be arrived at by the congress. The belief that the C. G. T. U. had finally found the road toward trade union unity was strengthened by the fact that Monmousseau was sharply criticized in the Communist press by Losovsky himself for his article "A United C. G. T., a C. G. T. of Betrayal", and by the fact that even within the leading Communist fraction of the C. G. T. U. there was a strong current in favor of reentering the reformist C. G. T. All hopes received a brutal rebuff from the congress of the C. G. T. U. itself.

Monmousseau Reports

The report on the activity since the last congress, presented by Monmousseau, contained an open admission of the false line and the heavy mistakes committed by the Centrist leadership, During this time the C. G. T. U. had lost 100,000 members while the reformists recorded a period of growth. Not one of the many strikes that had taken place in the course of the two years of the third period had been successful. According to the reporter himself, the general line of the C. G. T. U. had been impregnated with ultra-left sectarianism. The only thing which Monoussseau took pride in, was the forecast of the crisis which they were supposed to have made before anyone else.

To hide their own sad balance, and in order to distract attention from their own mistakes, Monmousseau launched a violent attack against the minority groups of all tendencies. It was just along this line of hiding their own weaknesses as much as possible, that the congress proceeded, organizing all sorts of vociferous demonstrations against the various minorities. The 900 delegates, 300 more than at the last congress, were to hide the loss of 100,000 members. The perfect unanimity in the resolutions that were voted were to wipe out the barrenness of the discussion among the delegates who were composed for the greater part of appointees of the party and the C. G. T. U.

The activity report (and the discussion that was rushed through without arousing very much attention,) received a majority of 1333 votes against 168, among the latter being the 31 votes of the minority tendency in the Teachers' Union which stands very close to our own conceptions.

The Issue of Trade Union Unity

The pivotal point of the congress was the question of trade union unity. Much has been written about this question in our Opposition press. Before the congress, this question was posed in the following manner: everybody expected a decisive step on the part of the C. G. T. U. which was to represent, on the one hand, a reply to the maneuvers of Jouhaux at the last congress of the C. G. T., at which he issued a demagogic slogan in favor of unity; and on the other hand, to show that the Communist leaders of the trade unions are genuine protagonists of unity whereas the chiefs of the minority who have seized on the unity issue as a sort of an old war horse, in reality aim at the liquidation of revolutionary unionism, to the great advantage of the reformists.

The reporter on the unity question was one of the younger secretaries of the C. G. T. U.—Gitton—who has already, despite his youth, accumulated in practise all the stupidities of the elder bureaucrats. In fact that constitutes his fame. His report did not belie it. It was a melange of ultra-Left ideas on the impossibility of ever having unity with the reformists, on the "united front from below", unity within the C. G. T. U., etc. At one point, his sweep of eloquence led him to even go as far as to repeat Monousseau's famous phrase; "A Unified C. G. T., a C. G. T. of Betrayal".

In brief, Gitton's report was decidedly anti-unitarian and refuted everything that had been written or done in favor of unity before the congress in the official Communist press.

This position served as the best weapon for the demagogy of the anti-Communist minority leaders connected with the "Unity Committee' and greatly facilitated their work of disintegration within the revolutionary trade union center.

Minority Delegates Propose Correct Line

The delegates of the Teachers Federation and the autonomous Federation of Functionaries tried in vain to push through a resolution in favor of unity, stressing particularly that they had nothing in common with the liquidators of the "Unity Committee". The gathering of appointed officials did not follow them but obeyed instructions from above.

The R. I. L. U. delegate, Dahlem, who took part in the debates, on his own part developed the sectarian theory of red unions. He boasted of the creation of sectarian organizations like the R. G. O. in Germany, the "Reconstruction Committee" in Spain and declared himself opposed to unity.

Three motions were taken to a vote: that of the Unity Committee for reentrance into the reformist C. G. T., that of the Teachers' Federation (the same as that of the Left Opposition) and that of the majority of the Confederation. Naturally, the majority motion received an overwhelming majority. But one can judge how serious this vote was by the fact alone that the delegates were informed about the contents of the majority motion only after the congress had adjourned. The formulation of this motion represents a document full of Centrist confusion, in which the united front is confounded with unity, hiding behind radical phrases the clear intention of the Centrist leaders of the C. G. T. U. *not to pay any attention* to the sentiment for unity.

Rush Through Agenda

Once the question of unity had been decided on by the Congress, all the other questions were rushed through hastily, despite their great importance. The reports on the Unemployment demands, on the foreign-born workers, brought forth no discussion whatsoever. The only effect of the turn seemed to be the recognition of the necessity to fight for immediate demands, contradicting thereby the whole theory of the third period. This elementary truth was announced triumphantly as a new discovery although no concrete proposals of work were made with regard to the organization of the united front, the immediate tactic, etc. In one of the most burning questions of the present moment in France, in the question of the foreign born worker, who is among the very first victims of the crisis and of the capitalist repression, the Congress of the C. G. T. U. had nothing to say. In short, the congress was one of the worst in the existence of the C. G. T. U.

If, from the point of view of revolutionary importance, the congress of the C. G. T. U. cannot be compared with the congress of the C. G. T., we can only deplore the fact that so many hopes were shattered, that so much faith in the congress was destroyed by its derisive reply. A great deal of effort and many months will be needed to bring the C. G. T. U. back to its correct path, to the road of revolutionary unionism. The economic situation in France is growing worse every day, unemployment which was negligible up to the present, is becoming a real menace, the working class is preparing to react, the necessity of a mass trade union organization with a revolutionary program is becoming an imperative necessity.

Left Opposition Has Correct Path

From the point of view of numbers and strength, the activity of the Left Opposition at the congress was very weak. The mistakes committed in the past, the errors of the "Unitary Opposition", the absence of theses on the trade union question that should have been elaborated by our National Conference, all this contributed to the fact that the position of the Opposition was not defended with the necessary vigor at the congress.

At the congress itself certain mistakes were committed in the vote on the political report. This mistake was later corrected by the Executive Comission. On the other hand, we did not seek any contact with the federation and unions that defended the same point of view as ourselves, which constituted a second grave mistake, so that our own resolution received only one vote.

In spite of all this, the perspectives of the Left Opposition, which alone has the correct path at the present, are very good. Its role will take on a greater importance as the crisis will develop and it should show itself capable of penetrating the broader masses.

December, 1931 FELIX.

IN GERMANY

A Very Dangerous Strategic Error

Policy of the Communist Party Hastens Facist Menace

◆ ◆ ◆

The external difficulties for Communism in Germany are growing. Every day brings new **advances of the fascists.** Let us enumerate them briefly: the gathering of the forces of the reactionary coalition at Harzburg, which did not, it is true, lead to the immediate collapse of the Bruening government, but whose economic program is becoming more and more the common property of the whole bourgeoisie. The elections in Hamburg, in Anhalt and in Hesse (the latter two are small federated states) which led to really phantastic successes for the Nazis. They almost doubled their votes over last year. Four parties are left altogether: the Nazis, the clerical Center, with Bruening, the greatly reduced Social Democratic party and the Communist Party. It must be observed that the C. P. G. did actually harness the greatest part of the **votes** (not the membership) that have been swept away from the Social Democracy and that only the petty bourgeois camp followers have gone over to the Fascists.

It is most noteworthy that the Fascists have succeeded in crushing the petty bourgeois parties, but have not penetrated into the bulk of the proletariat. Nevertheless, their parliamentary successes are extremely menaçing, all the more so, since they are accompanied by an ever growing extra-parliamentary activity. The **bloody terror,** tolerated and even encouraged by the police and the courts of the republic, built up and protected by the Social Democracy, is constantly on the rise (Eleven workers murderd by Fascists in the month between October 18 to November 18 alone). One of its classical examples is **Brunswick.** There we already have Nazi ministers. One hundred thousand armed Nazis marched into the state, and undisturbed by the police of their party comrades, they undertook a veritable punitive expedition into the proletarian quarters, after the style of the Italian model, announcing thereby their future tactic. Finally, the **underhand dealings of the semi-fascist Bruening government,** which enjoys the support of the S. P. D., **with Hitler,** show with what speed we are going over to Fascism.

Proletariat Develops United Front Against Fascism

What must be done now? Instinctively, the working class entered on the correct path when it closed its ranks and disregarded party affiliations in its active defense against the Fascists by powerful strikes on the day the victims of the Fascists were buried. Here there was formed the **united front,** positive sentiment for which has been very strong in the factories, despite all illusions. On this basis of **common struggle against Fascism,** the C. P. G. ought to have approached the reformist workers, and in order to destroy their illusions—the reformist organizations as well, as was already suggested by comrade Trotsky a year ago. Likewise, it ought to exploit the strong sentiment **against wage reductions** in factories in order to build up the united front, which is the prerequisite for all further development of the class struggle in Germany. But for this, it was necessary to carry on systematic work toward the formation of a Left wing in the reformist trade unions. The extraordinary danger inherent in the situation demands just such a tactic. In an open letter to the German Central Committee, the German Opposition has made concrete proposals leading to the establishment of the united front.

C. P. Fails To Carry Out United Front Toward S. P. D.

Despite all its talk about the united front, the party leadership has proved itself incapable of actually bringing it about. It is too inextricably tied down by its ultra-Left phrases, to be able to build up a movement on a broad basis. It can only conceive of that sort of a united front with the social democratic workers, which requires of the latter adherence to its own organizations. Its entire trade union work involves unsuccessful and impotent attempts at the erection of trade unions of its own.

The sectarianism of the party leadership goes to such great bounds, that the leadership of the S. P. G. can afford to offer a united front to the party through its spokesman, Breitscheid, although the social democrats fear the united front more than the devil himself. But they know only too well that the party will not at all try to force them to keep their word. So they can afford this maneuver as a concession to the sentiment within their ranks and to bring pressure on the bourgeoisie.

False Strategy of C. P. Holds Grave Dangers for Workers

The **real misfortune** lies in the **false strategy** that is behind the whole tactic of the Communist Party, a strategy which, by disrupting the labor movement from within, is much more dangerous than the external enemy, the Fascists. The German Opposition has opened up a determined struggle against this strategy in its open letter. It bears on no less a question than that of evaluating the victory of the Fascists. After confusing the question for years, designating first the reformist, then the clerical government as Fascist, the Party today declares, in view of the threat of a Fascist victory: "The Fascist gentlemen do not frighten us...**They are going to go smash much faster than every other government."** (Remmele in the Reichstag, Oct. 14).

What does this mean? The Fascist upheaval is inevitable, we are not in a position to prevent it, but that is no cause to be worried, not a very great misfortune; the Fascists will very rapidly disintegrate; under their blows the united front will really have to be forged together, the victory of Fascism is a necessary step toward the victory of the proletariat. This ideology is not confined to the mouthpieces of the leadership alone, but has, unfortunately, infested the minds of many sincere members as well. All this sounds terribly radical. And yet behind the radical phraseology (not for the first time, as the Bulgarian June days have proved, among other things) there is concealed what is most despicable for revolutionaries, namely: **capitulation.** Their partial ideological capitulation before Fascism, arising with the 'national program" and the "people's revolution", of necessity leads to what very nearly amounts to betrayal in practice.

Stalinist Policy Leads to Capituation Before Enemy

The roots of this sentiment are quite obvious. They lie in the complete political impotence of the party in the face of its task to withstand the rise of Fascism by organizing the united front. As always, the Centrist bureaucracy is transforming its own incapability into a law of nature, and they still enjoy the confidence of the membership, which, with its equipment of ultra-Left phrases, likewise has no faith in the possibility of establishing the united front and gladly leave this task to Hitler. This sentiment is an expression of despair, signifying that the party has landed in a morass.

After the Prussian plebiscite, Trotsky very correctly wrote of the "school of bureaucratic centrism, as the school of capitulation" (witness China, Germany in 1923, England, Poland, Bulgaria, Finland, etc.) It is well known that Stalin counselled the German Communists even in 1923 not to seize power themselves, but to allow the Fascists to try their hand first. In the latest Centrist strategy of capitulation, the teaching of socialism in one country also plays a not unimportant part. They do not want to endanger Russian construction, which is to complete socialism in a few years, by risking a German revolution, but much prefer to do the one after the other, according to the bureaucratic calendar, forgetting all the while how greatly intervention is facilitated by this very tactic.

The Menace of German Fascism

The one and only Marxist fashion of posing the question is to take into account the entire experiences of the international working class (Italy, etc.). "The victory of Fascism means the suppression of the German revolution for a period of years and almost certain death for the U S. S. R. It is the revolutionary task of the German proletariat to prevent Fascism from seizing power. The fate of the proletariat is completely and entirely bound up with this problem." (Open Letter of the German Opposition).

Their policy of despair is also expressed in the fact that, at a time when extra-parliamentary actions against Fascism and wage slashing constitute the only proper weapons, the party relies on **parliamentary actions.** Thus, it proposes the dissolution of the diet in Saxony, although the diet has become completely meaningless in the eyes of the masses, and although that can only result in a "united front" with the Fascists, as in Prussia, and thereby only serves to obstruct the genuine united front; and despite the fact that in contradistinction to the Prussian episode, it is quite clear in advance that the Fascists and not the party would be the beneficiaries of such an action. But such a policy of self-deception is quite in line with and completely justified by the latest strategy.

Fight To Remove C. P. Policy of Despair

We are approaching the end of a certain phase of development. The ultra-Left phraseology ends in rotten opportunism, with a capitulationist ideology, which, transcribed into practise, is bound to bring much worse results than in 1923. *It cannot be determined* in advance whether Centrism will follow this path through to the end. It is precisely the nature of Centrism that makes more turns possible—and more adventurism. But the dangers of surrendering without a struggle are very great. For this reason, and precisely because Centrism is in a certain degree susceptible to persuasion, all forces must be set in motion against the disastrous strategy of despair. It is a matter of life and death for German, even for international Communism. —E. BAUER.

Leipzig, Nov. 20, 1931

A Letter to Andres Nin

The Catalonian Separatists, Soviets, and the Communists

Dear Friend:

I have received your letter of August 25th. You pose the question to yourself: shall we call upon the workers to join the Party or the (Catalonian) federation? The local conditions speak in favor of the federation. The general—Spanish—conditions speak in favor of the Party. From the practical point of view, that is, from the point of view of the relationship of forces at the given moment, it is difficult to solve this problem, but it seems to me that our principle position is really of decisive importance: we declare that we are a faction of the Party, a faction of the Comintern. The main struggle against us is carried on along the line that we are "enemies" of the U. S. S. R. and the Comintern. Even Maurin lives on the crumbs that fall from this table.

If we call upon the workers to join the federation, we compromise ourselves on the whole Spanish and on the international scale. Do we gain at all, on the Catalonian scale? If we consider the present results of the co-operation with the federation, we find that we have derived more harm than profit from it. The entire Comintern press, and the **Pravda** in particular, has held us responsible for Maurin's opportunist confusionism. Comrade Mill's articles in **La Verite** also contributed to a great extent in the matter. Nevertheless, we have been forced to break with the federation and we have left almost empty-handed. In other words, the experiences of the co-operation with the federation have weakened us on the whole Spanish, as well as international, scale without helping us any on the Catalonian scale It is time to draw up the balance. In my opinion, we ought to execute an abrupt turn of policy here, to avoid continuing to be confused with Maurin—to his advantage and to our own disadvantage.

It would be most correct to call upon the workers to join the Communist Left faction, to build up their own units and to demand admission into the Patry. That does not at all prevent us from simultaneously building up Left wing units in the federation as well as in the official Party. But such a policy requires an official center, no matter how small, of the Left Opposition in Catalonia. You will perhaps recall that I insisted on this from the very first day of your arrival in Barcelona, but, unfortunately, without success. At the present time, too, I cannot see any other way.

The Slogan of Soviets

Maurin has isued the slogan: "All the power to the proletariat." I think you are quite right in pointing out that he has chosen slogans of this sort in order to put up a bridge for himself to the syndicalists and to lend himself the appearance of greater strength than he actually possesses. Unfortunately, the pursuit of appearances is very strong in politics, and very disastrous in revolutionary politics. I ask myself (at times) why there are no Soviets in Spain. What is the cause of this? In my former letter, I expressed several ideas in this respect. I have developed these much more amply in the article I sent you on workers' control in Germany. It appears that the slogan of the "juntas" is associated in the minds of the Spanish workers with the slogan of Soviets, and for this reason it seems too sharp, too decisive, too "Russian" to *them—that is to say*, they look at it in a different light than the Russian workers did at the corresponding stage. Are we not confronted with an historical paradox, when the existence of Soviets in the U. S. S. R. paralyzes the creation of Soviets in other revolutionary countries? This question must be given the utmost attention in private conversations with workers in different parts of the country. At any event, if the slogan of Soviets (juntas) does not catch (not yet?), then we must concentrate on the slogan of factory committees. I wrote on this subject in the article on workers' control mentioned above. On the basis of factory committees, we can develop the Soviet organization without referring to them by name.

Workers' Control

On the question of workers' control, you are, in my opinion, absolutely correct; to renounce workers' control only because the reformists—in words—want it, would be an enormous stupidity. On the contrary, that is just why we should seize upon it all the more eagerly and force the reformist workers to put it into practice by means of the united front with us, and on the basis of this experience push them into opposition to Caballero and the other fakers.

We succeeded in creating Soviets in Russia only because they were demanded, together with us, also by the Mensheviks and the S. R., though for other ends. We cannot create any Soviets in Spain precisely because neither the Socialists nor the syndicailsts want Soviets. That means that the united front and the organizational unity with the majority of the working-class cannot be created under this slogan. But here is Caballero himself, forced to it by the pressure of the masses, seizing upon the slogan of workers' control and thereby opening the door for the united front policy and to an organization embracing the majority of the working-class. We must take a hold of it with both hands. Certainly, Caballero will want to transform workers' control into the control of the capitalist over the workers. But that question already belongs in the domain of the relationship of forces inside the working-class. If we succeed in creating factory committees all over the country, then in this revolutionary epoch that we are witnessing, Messrs. Caballero will have lost the decisive battle.

The Separatist Movement and the Iberian Soviet Federation

You describe how one can aid Madrilene liberalism by distorting the idea that the Balkanization of the Iberian peninsula is inconsistent with the aim of the proletariat, and by employing it indiscriminately. You are quite right. If I have not underscored it sufficiently in my preceding letter, I am prepared to do so with *ten-fold stress* right now. The analogy between the two peninsulas really needs to be completed. There was a time when the Balkan peninsula was unified under the domination of the Turkish gentry, the militarists and the proconsuls. The oppressed people longed for the overthrow of their oppressors. If the idea that we do not want any *partitioning of the peninsula* had been counterposed to these aspirations of the people, that would have meant acting as lackeys to the Turkish pashas and beys. On the other hand, however, we know that the Balkan peoples liberated from the Turkish yoke, have been at one another's throat for decades. In this question, too, the proletarian vanguard can apply the point of view of the permanent revolution: liberation from the imperialist yoke as the most important element of the democratic revolution leads immediately to the Federation of Soviet Republics as the state form for the proletarian revolution. Not opposing the democratic revolution, but, on the contrary, supporting it completely even under the form of separation (that is, supporting the struggle and not the illusions), we at the same time bring our own independent position into the democratic revolution, recommending, counseling, propagating the idea of the Soviet Federation of the Iberian peninsula as a constituent part of the United States of Europe. Only under this form is my *conception complete. Needless to say*, the Madrid comrades and the Spanish comrades in general should use particularly great discretion with regard to the Balkanization argument.

—L. TROTSKY.

Kadikoy, Sept. 1st, 1931

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE "HUNGER MARCH"

As a Communist propaganda demonstration on the issue of unemployment the "Hunger March" to Washington at the opening of Congress was an indubitable success. Communist initative and organizing faculty were written all over the affair. By the demonstration the cause of the hungry millions was placed on the agenda in the most dramatic manner; the inability of the richest impeiralist power to provide the necessities of life to the producers of its incredible wealth was called to the attention of the entire world. And before the world the Communists appeared as the spokesmen of the dispossessed, the hungry and shelterless workers.

All that was lacking was the participation of the masses of the unemployed. Doak, the labor-baiting secretary of labor, announced the "sensational" discovery of his secret agents that the hunger march was organized and directed by the Communist Party. This revelation needed no exceptional detective work. The facts were all too obvious. It was easy enough to point out the Communist leaders of the march. They were everywhere for all to see. If the secret service had been able to discover the unemployed masses following these leaders—that would have been a real exposure; and, from our point of view, a most welcome one.

But they could not do it; the masses were not there. The success of the hunger march as a propaganda manifestetion of the Party was on a par with its failure as a mobilization of the unemployed workers. Like nearly all of the previous actions of the Party in the unemployment situation, this supreme effort was confined pretty closely—so far as direct participation is concerned—to the Communist workers and their close sympathizers. The crying disparity between the burning importance of the issue and the ability of the Party to draw the masses into motion was once again demonstrated on this occasion.

This proceeds inevitably from the false policy and method of the Party. You cannot whittle down a mass movement by sectarian methods from day to day and then expect to have the masses ready when the great occasion comes. This is the outstanding lesson of the hunger march. By this we do not in the least deprecate the positive sides of the undertaking. Communist propaganda demonstrations have their importance. But only a genuine movement of the masses will get results. This is yet to come. Stalinist policy and Stalinist leadership of the Party are the chief factors of obstruction.

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THE KENTUCKY MINERS

The verdict of guilty in the case of William B. Jones, Harlan County miners' leader, with the accompanying sentence of life imprisonment, again brings this historic struggle sharply before the working class and warns against any further delay in organizing a genuine national movement in behalf of the indicted men. More than a score of workers are yet to be tried. Their lives are in danger, and with them the life of the organized labor movement in the Kentucky mine fields. The intervention of a powerful workers' protest in the affair is one of the most important questions of the day. Here is a case of vindictive persecution, not of a few individuals merely but on a wholesale scale. The object is to wipe out unionism and terrorize all of its advocates by a fearful example of class "justice" and revenge. Can that be allowed to happen in comparative silence?

It is by no means a one-sided battle. All the strength is not on the side of Kentucky "law" which licenses thugs to maim and kill and prosecutes workers who defend themselves. The acquittal of Burnett in the first trial a couple of weeks ago demonstrates that the sentiment of the masses is not without effect even on jurymen selected from another class. It shows also that the position of the defendants is legally justified, even from the biased standards of the capitalist law. These two factors explain the acquittal of Burnett. A relaxation of general labor interest in the second case, whether from over-confidence or neglect, turned the scale against Jones and emboldened the prosecution to go through with a conviction. The tide must be turned before it is too late. The legal defense, from all appearances, is competent enough. What is needed now is its reenforcement by the mass demands of the working masses.

The factional wrangling over the defense has been a scandal and a direct blow to the men and the cause on trial. In the welter of charges and counter-charges around the cases it was hard for a time to ascertain exactly who was handling the defense. One got the impression, in this disgraceful quarrel, that the miners in the docks were regarded as bones to fight over rather than a cause to defend by common efforts. It is clear enough now that the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. is conducting the legal defense. But is that any reason for Communists to stand aside, or—still worse—attack the defense at the moment it is under the guns of the class enemy?

No, that is factionalism in the most perverted form, a factionalism that loses all vision of the class issues, and therefore a corrupt and reactionary factionalism. Class conscious workers are duty-bound to give financial and other support to the defense in every labor case. In the present instance it means to support the General Defense Committee without a moment's hesitation and provide it with the necessary funds to meet the heavy burdens imposed by the trials. We do not mean by this to express any approval of the propaganda methods of the I. W. W. in the controversy with the I. L. D. They create the impression that their main fight is against the Communists. This also hurts and weakens the cause at stake. The real enemy is the capitalist class and their judical agents in Kentucky. We speak for a union of all forces of the labor movement in a common fight against this enemy.

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GREETINGS TO "COMMUNISTES"

As this issue of the **Militant** goes to press we greet the first appearance of a fellow-fighter in the ranks of the Opposition. **Communistes** will carry to the Greek workers in America the same message which the **Militant** has carried in the English language through storm and stress for more than three years. We see in the enlistment of this ally an event of profound significance in the development of American Communism. *It shows to us that an important section* of the Communist proletariat, which has given proof in the past in labor and sacrifice of its revolutionary spirit, is finding its way, through a hail-storm of slander and misrepresentation, to the platform of the Opposition, which is the platform of Marx and Lenin.

The Greek Communists in America are not to blame if they have been disorientated and led astray on the great questions of principle which have arisen in the Comintern since Lenin's death. They had no light to show them the way. Their own paper, **Empros**, which they established and maintained at such heavy cost, became converted, in the hands of corrupt and ignorant bureaucrats, into an instrument to deceive and mislead them, to lie, to slander, to befoul the banner of Communism and trample it underfoot. It took time for even a small group of Greek Communists to learn the truth. But the ideas of Marxism are invincible; they make their way through all barriers, including the barriers of language. Now, with an organ of their own, we can expect a rapid growth of our movement among the Greek workers in America.

The role of the foreign-born workers in American industry is well known. Their shoulders are pillars upon which a large part of the huge edifice of American imperialism supports itself. And the relative importance of these immigrants from other lands in the American Communist movement has been even greater. As a result of their inhuman exploitation, their traditions and their higher class consciousness, they turned to the ideas of Communism sooner, and in greater numbers, than did the native born proletarians. They stood among the actual founders of American Communism; they were its backbone, especially in its early years.

If the ranks of the foreign-born Communists did not grow and expand as the social conditions matured for the development of a genuine native movemnt, it can be attributed, in the first place, to the degeneration that overtook the leading circles of the International movement. The international factors are always the most decisive. But here in America their was a contributing factor of deadly effect. The various language bureaus, without exception, became transformed into appendages of the Stalinist lying machine like branch offices of a business concern. They became poisoned with the spirit of the small business man who does not want to be disturbed. In this atmosphere all criticism was stifled and all independent thought was beaten down. Instead of instruments to carry the truth of Marxism to the foreign speaking workers these bureaus became so many sources of infection to poison and destroy the movement. **Empros** exitsed for this purpose in the recent years. The sad effects of it are to be seen in every phase of the Greek workers' movement.

Communistes will have the task of undoing this damage. It will have to explain to the Greek workers the reason for the failures and defeats. It will have to restore and popularize again the doctrines which the bureaucrats have discredited. It will have to arouse in the Greek workers once again the spirit of inquiry, of criticism and independent thought, for it is these qualities—not blind servility and automatic hand-raising—that distinguish the revolutionary Communist. It wil be a hard task at first but it will be accomplished. Bolsheviks were never araid of difficulties. The resurrection of the genuine movement of Communism among the Greek workers in America will begin with the first issue of **Communistes.** We are confident that our Greek comrade-in-arms will be fully worthy of their great historic tack.

If we were to offer one word of advice to the newly organized group of Greek Oppositionists it would be this: Do not chase after quick success. Stand firm on the line of principle and organize your cadre around it. The rest will follow.

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THE CANADIAN COMMUNIST TRIALS

The helpless impotence of the Party leaders on all questions which arise out of the class struggle and demand a quick answer is again illustrated in the most striking manner by their clam-like silence on the Canadian Communist trial. The conviction and sentence to five year prison terms of the leading staff of the Canadian Party is surely an event of extra-ordinary importance. Our Party canot be unaffected by such an alarming development across the border. Moreover, it owes a duty to the Party and the Party leaders who have been proscribed by the Canadian Government.

We have had a fairly rich experience of the same kind. Our Party went through a test of fire in the Palmer raids; it lived as an illegal organization for three years; and after that, by a combination of legal and illegal methods of organization and a determined will to break out of the underground strait-jacket, it re-conquered the right to a legal existence as a Party. All these questions are rising up before the Canadian Party at the present moment. How does the leadership of the American Party evaluate the trial, and what advice does it offer to the Canadian comrades in their difficult position? The **Daily Worker** answers these crucial questions with a studied neglect. It has nothing to say.

In a previous issue of the **Militant** comrade Spector has given a report and a political evaluation of the trial. With his comments we are in full agreement. His criticism of the showing made by the defendants was a loyal criticism that did not in any way impair the fundamental solidarity of the Opposition with the Party in its hour of persecution. And it was absolutely necessary. The Canadian Party will pay dearly for the attempts to dilute the revolutionary essence of its doctrines before the court. That is not the way to fight for the legality of the Party as a **Communist** Party. It is the way, rather, to discredit its leadership, to poison the ranks with an evasive legalistic retreat from principle and to rob the Party of the power to stand up under the blows of the class enemy. When the leaders of the proletariat are on trial they must not forget for a moment that they are speaking to the whole country. Then of all times they must say what they really stand for. You cannot fool the masses into Communism. You will only discredit your own movement if you try.

In our opinion, comrade Spector sounded the right note when he said the problem at the moment consists in going to every working class organization in the country with the slogan of a common fight for the repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code, the section under which the prosecution was conducted. The Canadian Party should under no circumstances accept the condemnation to illegality and retreat into a restricted underground existence without a further struggle. The proscription of the Canadian Party is not grounded in the present political situation and relation of class forces in the country. Social conditions for a regime of white terror, such as prevails in a number of European countries, are not matured in Canada. It is not the strength of the Canadian Party which the conservative government fears, but rather its weakness—brought upon it by the cruel blows it has suffered in recent years from the Stalinist regime—that embolden the Government to experiment with a "red scare". The action against the Canadian Party bears a close resemblance to the assaults we experienced in the Palmer days, and has much of the same content. The Canadian Party should profit by the errors, and also by the victories, which attended our struggle under somewhat similar conditions.

The Party should wage a determined fight for legality. But it cannot fight successfully alone. It must make its fight the fight of the working class, in the first place of the more advanced and class conscious workers' organizations. In order to do this it must throw overboard all the bizarre theories which have been foisted upon it in recent years, weakening and undermining it, isolating it from the labor movement and rendering it helpless before the Government attack.

What the Canadian Party needs most of all is a realistic appraisal of the situation and a deliberate tactic of the united front. It needs to approach the workers of other organizations, not as "social fascists" but as brothers in a common cause. All workers' organizations have an interest in the questions of legal political rights. The Party must become the champion of such rights for all. If the Party approaches them in the right way and with the right policy it can gain their support. There is every reason for confidence that a united struggle in the present situation will be victorious. The Opposition will do all it can to help the Party to find this path.

—J. P. C.

Chicago Opposition Meets

CHICAGO—The Chicago branch of the Communist League (Opposition) is putting in a busy week in connection with the national tour of comrdae Swabeck. The first public meeting held at the Headquarters Hall brought an audience of 50. The subject, "The Economic Crisis and the Left Communists" offered an excellent opportunity for comrade Swabeck to discuss some of the most pressing problems of strategy and tactics facing the Communist movement. The lecture called forth a series of questions from the audience for further elucidation.

A Branch meeting of the Chicago League, as this is written, is scheduled, where comrade Swabeck will report on the general situation and prospects of the League.

On December 12th, comrade Swabeck is to lecture on the "Manchurian Crisis" before the Liberal Science Forum at 1118 W. Madison St. Special advertising has been issued to ensure a large attendance for this meeting.

On comrade Swabeck's return from the Western meetings at Kansas City, Minneapolis and other points, a stop-over mass meeting will be held where he will speak on "Trotsky on the World Crisis."

On New Year's Eve the Branch will hold an entertainment at the headquarters, 1435 No. Western Ave.

What Is A Revolutionary Situation?

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The Decisive Importance of the Communist Party

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(The points enumerated below represent a summary of the views of comrade L. D. Trotsky. It is the outcome of a discussion between comrade Trotsky and comrade Albert Glotzer, member of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition), who has been visiting with comrade Trotsky for a number of weeks. Comrade Glotzer in forwarding these views for publication, points out that they arose in connection with the situation in England and the false views expressed by some English comrades (Ridley and Chandu Ram) who declare their support of the Left Opposition. Comrade Trotsky has been too busy recently to be able to devote the time necessary for the formulation of complete and thorough views on the British situation, (an article on "The Tasks of the Opposition in England and India" by comrade Trotsky did however appear in **The Militant** last week (12-12-31); but nevertheless the points presented below in draft form offer a good basis for the discussion of a very important question, namely: What constitutes a revolutionary situation?—Ed.).

1. For an analysis of a situation from a revolutionary point of view, it is necessary to distinguish between the economic and social premises of a revolutionary situation and the revolutionary situation itself.

2. The economic and social premises for a revolutionary situation begin, generally speaking, at that moment when the productive powers of the country are going, not up but down, that is, diminishing; when the specific weight of a capitalist country on the world market is systematically lesened and when the incomes of the classes are likewise systematically reduced; when unemployment becomes, not a conjunctural event of fluctuation, but a permanent social evil with the tendency to growth. All the foregoing characterize the situation in England completely, and we can affirm that the economic and social premises for a revolutionary situation exist there, in this form, and are always becoming more and more acute. But we must not forget that the expression, revolutionary situation, is a political term, not alone sociological. This explanation includes the subjective factor, and the subjective factor is not only the question of the party of the proletariat. It is a question of the mentality of the whole class, foremost, of course, of the proletariat and the party.

The Beginning of A Revolutionary Situation

3. The revolutionary situation, however, begins only from the moment that the economic and social premises of a revolution produce a break in the mentality of society and its different classes. What must be produced in this way for creating a revolutionary situation?

(a) In every situation which we must analyze, it is necessary to distinuish three classes of society; the capitalists, the middle class or petty bourgeoisie, and the proletariat. Those changes in the mentality of thes classes in order to characterize a revolutionary situation are very different for every one of these classes.

(b) That the economic situation is very acute, the British proletariat know very well, far better than all theoreticians. But the revolutionary situation begins only at the moment when the proletariat begins to search for a way out, not on the basis of the old society but along the path of a revolutionary insurrection against the existing order. This is the most important subjective condition for a revolutionary situation. The acuteness of the revolutionary feelings of the masses is one of the most important measures for the ripeness of the revolutionary situation.

(c) But a revolutionary situation is one which must, in the next period, permit the proletariat to become the ruling power of society, and that depends in England, less than in any other country, but also there to a degree, on the political thoughts and feelings of the middle class; the revolutionary situation would be characterized by the loss of confidence of the middle class in all the traditional parties (including the Labor Party, which is reformist, i. e., a conservative party), and its turn of hope to a radical, revolutionary change in the society (and not a counter-revolutionary change, viz., a fascist change).

(d) Both the changes in the mentality of the proletariat and the middle class correspond and develop parallel to the change in the mentality of the ruling class which sees that it has not the means to save its system, loses confidence in itself, decomposes and splits into factions and cliques.

The Changing Outlook of the Classes

4. It cannot be foreseen or indicated mathematically at what point in these processes that the revolutionary situation is totally ripe. The revolutionary party can only establish that fact by its struggles, by the growth of its forces, through its influence on the masses, on the peasants, and the petty bourgeoise of the towns, etc., and by the weakening of the resistance of the ruling classes.

5. If we adapt these criteria to the British situation we can see:

(a) That the economic and social premises, as has been stated, are existing and becoming more effective and acute.

(b) The bridge, however, from these economic premises to the psychological results, has not been crossed. For the revolutionary situation in England it is not necessary for great changes in the economic conditions, which are already unbearable, to come about. What is necessary is a new adjustment of the mentality of the different classes to this unbearable, catastrophic situation in England.

The Rate of Development

6. The economic change of society is very slow and is measured by centuries and decades. But when the economic conditionns are radically changed, a transformation of the retarded psychological factors can be produced very quickly. However, quickly or slowly, such changes must inevitably be effected in the mentality of the classes. Only then can we find a revolutionary situation.

7. In political terms it signifies:

(a) That the proletariat must lose its confidence not only in the conservatives and liberals, but also in the Labor Party. It must concentrate its will and its courage for revolutionary aims and methods.

(b) That the middle class must lose its confidence in the big bourgeoisie, in the lords, and turn their eyes to the revolutionary proletariat.

(c) That the rich classes, the ruling cliques, rejected by the masses, lose confidence in themselves.

8. These phenomena will inevitably come. However, they do not evist today. They can come in a short period of time, through the acute crisis. They can arrive in two or three years, or perhaps in a year. But this is a perspective and not a fact today. We must base our policy on the facts of today and not of tomorrow.

The Decisive Importance of a Matured Communist Party

9. The political conditions of a revolutionary situation are developing more or less parallel and simultaneously, but this does not signify that they all become ripe at the same moment—therein is the danger of the British situation of tomorrow. In the ripening political conditions, the most retarded is the revolutionary party of the proletariat. It is not excluded that the general revolutionary change of the proletariat and the middle class, and the political decomposition of the ruling class, will develop more quickly than the ripening of the Communist Party. It signifies that it does not exclude after tomorrow a genuine revolutionary situation without an adequate revolutionary party. It would be, to a certain degree, a reproduction of the situation in Germany in 1923. But to affirm that England is in such a situation today is absolutely false.

10. We say that it is not excluded that the development of the Party can remain retarded in relation to the other elements of the revolutionary situation—but that is not in any case inevitable. On this question we cannot make exact prognoses, but the question is not merely a question of prognosis. It is a question of our own action.

11. How much time will the British proletariat need in the present state of capitalist society to break up its connections with the three bourgeois parties? By a correct policy of the Communist Party, it is entirely possible that its growth will take place in proportion to the bankruptcy and decomposition of the other parties. It is our aim, it is our duty to realize this possibility.

What Is Coming?

CONCLUSIONS: That explains sufficiently why it is totally false to affirm that England is now between Democracy and Fascism. The era of Fascism begins seriously after an important and, for a certain time, decisive victory of the bourgeoisie over the working-class. But the great struggles in England are not behind us, rather ahead of us. As we discussed in another connection, more probably the next political chapter in England, after the decomposition of the national government and the conservative government which will probably succeed it, will be a liberal-labor reformistic era, which can, namely in England, become in the near future more dangerous than the spectre of Fascism. We called that period, conditionally, the British Kerenskiade.

But it is necessary to add that the Kerenskiade is not obliged to be in every sitaution, in every country, as weak as the Russian Kerenskiade. The weakness of the Kerenskiade there was a result of the great power of the Bolshevik Party. We see now, for example, in Spain, that the Kerenskiade—the coalition of the liberals and the "socialists"—is by no means so weak as it was in Russia, and this is the result of the weakness of the Communist Party; and, thereby, becoming a great danger to the Spanish Revolution. The Kerenskiade signifies for us the employment of reformist, "revolutionary", "democratic", "socialist" phrases; certain secondary democratic and social reforms, while at the same time carrying on repressions against the Left wing of the working-class.

This method is contrary to the method of Fascism, but it serves the same aim. To condemn the future Lloyd Georgeiade to a weakness, is only possible when we foresee it approaching, when we are not hypnotizing ourselves with the spectre of Fascism which is further away than Lloyd George and his instrument of tomorrow—the Labor Party. The danger of tomorrow can become the reformist party, the bloc of the liberals and the socialists; the Fascist danger is only in the third or fourth stage away. Our struggle to eliminate the Fascist period, to eliminate or reduce the new reformist period signifies for the Communist Party the struggle for the winning of the working-class.

—L. TROTSKY

Kadikoy, Nov. 17, 1931

Japanese Intrenched in Manchuria

(Continued from page 1)

cadone this act: no doubt having similar actions on their part in mind for the future. Ma does openly what the Chiang Kai-Sheks would rather do covertly.

The Communist Party

Events and affairs will continue in Manchuria. But more now than ever, the basic problem stands out: the struggle of the exploited masses against the foreign and native exploiters. The city proletariat, headed by a Communist Party, must lead this struggle and movement. There can be no subordination of the Communist Party to the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang, as was the policy of Stalin and the Comintern in the Chinese Revolution of 1927-1929, which resulted in the beheading of the Chinese Revolution. Nor can the peasant, the agrarian masses, be permitted to assume, or even to attempt, the role of leadership of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, the landlords and warlords. That role is the historical one of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party; it is for the exploited peasantry of China to march under the leadership of the proletariat and Communist Party. This over-emphasis and over-evaluation of the peasantry by Stalin and Bucharin, guided by the Menshevik Martynov, added further ruin to, and loss of thousands of lives of the Chinese masses. It must not be repeated: or the Chiang Kai-Sheks will have double duty as executioners of the proletariat.

The working class movement of China is again slowly rebuilding its forces and organizations. All possible assistance must be given to hasten the revival and growing struggles against the Chinese bourgeoisie in the struggle, among other things, for democratic rights. The generation and growth of a genuine Communist Party of China, linked in common effort with a de-Stalinized and regenerated Communist International, are the best and only real hopes in the struggle against the Japanese invaders, the native Chinese exploiters and the foreign imperialists. That resolves itself into the conscious and militant struggle of the working masses everywhere against the capitalist system.

—M. A.

PRISONERS FUND DANCE

NEW YORK—Efforts are being made by the General Defense Committee, I. W. W. organization, with headquarters at 555 W. Lake St., Chicago, Ill. to follow its annual custom by sending substantial checks at Yudetide to many men and women of the working class.

The New York City Local of the General Defense Committee has arranged a dance for the benefit of the Xmas Fund for class war prisoners. The affair will take place on Saturday, December 19, at Clairmont Casino, 62 East 106th St., New York City. Cascar's Harlemites will furnish music. Admission will be fifty cents. Tickets can be purchased by writing to Local 8, General Defense Committee, Box 51, Station D., New York City.

Swabeck National Tour

The National Tour of comrade Arne Swabeck has now carried him into Western territory. After a stay of six days in Chicago where public and Branch gatherings were held, comrade Swabeck went on to Springfield, Ill., Staunton, Ill. and St. Louis, Mo. for meetings. After that, beginning December 18, he was scheduled for a mass meeting, public banquet and Branch meeting in Kansas City. From Kansas City, he will proceed to Minneapolis for a six day stay in the vicinity. There the Minneapolis comrades have made extensive preparations for a Chrstmas gathering, public meetings and conferences.

Comrade Swabeck reports that the proposal for the issuance of a Jewish semi-monthly paper of the Left Opposition has met with enthusiasm, and that the comrades are at their task of raising the necessary funds.

The tour to date has proved successful and beneficial for the organization. The balance of the schedule follows:

Kansas City, Mo.	Dec. 18, 19, 20.
Minneapolis, Minn.	Dec. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.
Chicago, Ill.	Dec. 31 and January 1st
Youngstown, Ohio	January 3
Cleveland, Ohio	January 4, 5.
Philadelphia, Pa.	January 10.